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The Classical Bulletin

Published monthly except July, August, and September, by Loyola University Press, 3441 North Ashland Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Rev. James A. Kleist, S. J., Editor. Subscription price: One Dollar a Year.

Entered as second class matter December 14, 1927, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. VI

JANUARY, 1930

No. 4

The Sixth Book of the Aeneid

AN APPRECIATION

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the sixth book of the Aeneid in a way that may prove suggestive to classical teachers of similar methods of approach to other portions of Greek and Latin literature. Our study shall comprise three separate parts: (1) the position and function of the sixth book in the economy of the whole Aeneid; (2) the structure and significance of the book in itself, as an artistic unit; (3) its most striking individual elements of beauty, in style, diction, rhythm, atmosphere, emotional qualities, etc.

I

As Sellar suggested many years ago, Virgil's purpose in writing the Aeneid was twofold: to create, in the form of an imitative epic of action, manners, and character, a great poem, representative and commemorative of Rome. He also wished, as is clear from his finished work, to glorify in it Augustus and his reign, and to plead with his compatriots for peace, harmony, and godliness, for loyalty to Rome and confidence in her future. And so he proceeded to build his poem around one great, dominating character, Aeneas, in whom he embodied his own conception of the ideal Roman, just as Homer had embodied his conception of the ideal Greek in the characters of Achilles and Odysseus. For his theme Virgil selected the bringing by Aeneas of the Trojan *penates* to Latium, and the consequent founding of the Roman race:

"Dum conderet urbem
Inferretque deos Latio; genus unde Latinum" (I, 5, 6).

Thus the poet had a national theme and a representative Roman. Once this double choice was made, the course of the action, too, was clearly defined: it must take its rise in the destruction of Troy, and find its close in the foundation of the Roman empire in Italy. Between these two extremes must come the journeyings of Aeneas and his conquest of Italy: an Odyssey and an Iliad all in one, with abundant possibilities for action and character to adorn the tale.

Now in every great work of art, there are harmoniously fused into the one dominating unity of the ensemble many lesser unities, each with a certain completeness in itself, yet organically united with all the others to form the artistic whole. Two such lesser unities are inherent in the very theme of the Aeneid: the wanderings of the hero over land and sea, and his struggle for the conquest of Latium; and by symmetrical cor-

respondence Virgil has made these the two great divisions of his poem. Within each of them are made to fall the subordinate units of the individual books, six in the first part and six in the second. The books of the first part mark the successive stages of the wanderings; those of the second part the successive stages of the conquest.

The occasion of the wanderings and their starting-point, the fall of Troy, is, by a common artistic inversion, not placed in the first, but in the second book. This makes it possible for the poet to plunge into the midst of the action at the very outset. The longer portion of the wanderings, being of less importance to the theme, is compressed into a single book, the third. The last three stages of the journey, on the other hand, are each developed in greater detail, because of their greater importance and intrinsic poetical possibilities: the Dido episode, constituting Aeneas' greatest temptation to abandon his divinely appointed mission, in the fourth book; the funeral games in honor of Anchises, which lead up to the burning of the ships and, consequently, furnish the hero's last and greatest test, in the fifth book; and the descent into Hades, providing the final steeling of the weary and travel-worn hero for the greatest of his trials, which are yet to come in the conquest of a new home, in the sixth book.

The sixth book, therefore, concludes the first half of the poem and forms its turning-point from patient suffering to vigorous action. As has been suggested by Heinze, Virgil doubtless had determined upon including in the Aeneid a *Nekyia*, or descent to the nether world, quite independently of the general plan he later came to adopt for his work. It would give him a splendid opportunity to emulate Homer's similar episode in Odyssey XI, and also to round out the characterization of his hero. Thus the descent into Hades might have become a mere episode in the story of Aeneas, as, in truth, it is a mere episode in the story of Odysseus. In the end, however, Virgil's artistic skill actually made the sixth book an integral part of the main action, with excellent motivation.

In the first part of the Aeneid the hero is often discouraged and almost despondent. By the end of his long wanderings he is exhausted with weariness. A strong impulse is needed to prevent him from considering his destiny achieved, now that he has reached the shores of Italy; for now, in effect, is only to begin the real need of heroic qualities, of high martial prowess, of courage for intense, protracted, and undaunted action.

And, as a matter of fact, in the second half of the poem Aeneas is a changed man; he is no longer feeble-hearted and long-suffering, but full of hopeful and bold activity. It is the vision which he looked upon in the lower world that accounts for this great change. And so the sixth book has become, not a mere episode in the career of Aeneas, but the very turning-point of the entire story. R. S. Conway has gone so far as to call it the keystone of the whole poem; and his observations on the matter, which are the ripe fruit of half a century of contact with the Aeneid as student and teacher, are deserving of consideration. Amongst other things, he calls attention to the fact that the sixth book for the first time sets the story of Troy and Rome in the light of a universal Providence, revealing as it does, not merely the foundation of a new colony by Trojans in Italy, but a vast world-drama of tremendous significance to civilization: the epic of Troy and Rome becomes in it the epic of the civilized world. Moreover, in the sixth book Virgil openly adopts a world-philosophy—part Orphic, part Stoic, part Platonic in character—involving belief in the divine origin and destiny of the human soul, as well as a theory of rewards and punishments in the world to come, which constitute for the soul a discipline of purification and deification. The book also discloses the secret of the whole poem by linking its dénouement to a central figure, Augustus. Such, then, is the position and function of the descent into Hades in the economy of the whole Aeneid.

II

We may now cast a glance at the structure and meaning of the sixth book in itself. It is admittedly one of the finest of the poem and, hence, should show us Virgil's art at its best. Sellar has called the book "the masterpiece of Virgil's creative invention, . . . inspired by the feeling of the great spiritual life which awaits man beyond the grave."

Just as in the eleventh book of the Odyssey, the very subject matter of the descent obliges the poet to cast the sixth book of the Aeneid into a scene-series. In Homer this scene-series is loosely constructed and frankly episodic; but Virgil's sense of artistic structure demanded a stronger motivation for the whole episode and for each of its individual scenes. To secure this, he gave his *Nekyia* dramatic climax, so subordinating all its details to the main purpose as to impart progressive movement to the action. In Virgil's poem the descent is essentially a visit of Aeneas to his father Anchises, prompted primarily by his loyalty to him. It is true that, when appearing to the hero at the end of the fifth book, Anchises promises him a vision of the future of his race. But it is not so much this that moves Aeneas to undertake the descent, as his sense of filial duty to his parent; for when the inspired Sibyl prophesies to him his future struggles in Latium, Aeneas impatiently puts them aside as holding no terrors for him who had already suffered all, and urgently begs for only one boon, namely, that he may be allowed to see his father. Nor does he make mention of any revelation he hoped to receive from his father. No, his dear father had en-

joined upon him with supplications that he should come to visit him in the realms of Dis, and the hero must ever be true to his character of *pious Aeneas*. This motive of a visit to Anchises Virgil constantly keeps before us in all the scenes in the netherworld. Thus, after the meeting with Palinurus, he tells us that Aeneas and the Sibyl proceeded on their errand: "iter inceptum peragunt" (384). When challenged by Charon, the Sibyl explicitly sets forth the purpose of Aeneas in tresspassing on the domain of the shades:

"Troius Aeneas, pietate insignis et armis,
Ad genitorem imas Erebi descendit ad umbras" (403, 4).

Again, after Aeneas has torn himself from the sad vision of Dido, the poet once more reminds us that the hero turned to "pursue the journey which had been vouchsafed him": "datum molitur iter" (477). But he is soon delayed afresh by the meeting with Deiphobus, the son of Priam; and the Sibyl grows impatient.

"Nox ruit, Aenea; nos flendo ducimus horas" (539).

"Night cometh on apace, Aeneas; and we waste the hours in weeping," she exclaims with magnificent rhetoric, and thereby makes the reader all the more eager to hasten on to the real issue of the visit, the meeting with Anchises. The point is emphasized still more by the equally fine rhetoric of Deiphobus' reply:

"Ne saevi, magna sacerdos;
Discedam, explebo numerum, reddarque tenebris" (544, 5)—

"Rage not, mighty priestess; I will depart, . . . I will return into the darkness."

But at the parting of the ways, where the paths to Tartarus and Elysium divide, the sights and sounds of the abode of the damned cause Aeneas to turn again in curiosity and terror and ask for enlightenment concerning their meaning. The Sibyl this time so far forgets herself as to describe in some detail the sufferings of the unfortunate souls in Tartarus. But soon she recalls once more the real purpose of their journey, and concludes her narrative with the words:

"Sed jam age, carpe viam, et susceptum perface munus;
Acceleremus" (629-30).

And forthwith she points out to Aeneas the threshold of the palace of Pluto, where they must deposit the golden bough, in order to gain admittance to Elysium. Arrived at last in the region of the blessed, they do not delay in converse with the happy souls, but as soon as they draw near a group of them gathered about Musaeus, the father of song, the Sibyl accosts them with the eager inquiry:

"Dicite, felices animae, tuque, optime vates,
Quae regio Anchisen, quis habet locus? Illius ergo
Venimus et magnos Erebi tranavimus amnes" (669-71).

"Say, blissful souls, and thou, O best of bards, what region, what spot holds our Anchises? It is for his sake we are come, for his sake stemmed we the great rivers of Erebus."

And then follows the climax of their errand, when, after a brief quest, Anchises himself is discovered strolling o'er the lovely plain and Aeneas rushes forward to throw himself into his father's arms.

Now compare for a moment this dramatic structure of the sixth book of the Aeneid with the eleventh book of the Odyssey: where there is no progressive movement; where Odysseus does not actually descend to Hades, but merely digs a trench and conjures up the shades of the departed heroes; where Tiresias, who is to make a revelation to Odysseus, is not reserved till the end, but is among the very first souls to be addressed; where the different forms encountered in the land of death seem to be chosen without any special order, and there is not the naturalness of passing, as it were by necessity, through all the various regions of Hades on a definite errand; where apparently any soul at random speaks to the hero, and not, as in the Aeneid, one representative emerging from a less clearly defined group, and that, too, the one representative of the group to whom we feel the hero should above all others have wished to speak—a Palinurus, a Dido, a Deiphobus, a Musaeus, an Anchises. All this shows us very clearly the more conscious artistry of the Roman poet, who was not a slavish imitator of Homer, but a poet of genius, who knew how to combine and weld into a perfect work of art innumerable elements, original and borrowed.

Virgil's own, too, is the finest part of the book, the splendid vision of the future greatness of Rome. This it is, more than anything else Aeneas witnesses in Hades, that fortifies him against the struggles which are yet to ensue before Latium is won; and this it is, consequently, which makes the sixth book an organic part of the main action of the poem. In order to introduce this scene in a natural and striking manner, Virgil, in that magnificent Lucretian passage, beginning:

"Principio caelum ac terras camposque liquentes" (724 ff.),

propounds, by the mouth of Anchises, the theory of the divine origin and transmigration of souls. Here at the banks of Lethe, eager to drink of the waters of forgetfulness and thence to pass once more to the upper world, are gathered all the souls of Rome's great heroes to be. To produce upon his reader the just impression of the grandeur and nobility of this array, Virgil makes all these souls pass in grand review before Aeneas, whom Anchises conducts for that purpose to a commanding eminence. And as they are marshalled there before his admiring eyes in brilliant procession, Anchises singles out those who had the greatest appeal for the reader of Virgil's day: Romulus, the father of his country, together with his two greatest descendants, Caesar and Augustus; the line of ancient kings; Brutus, the Liberator; Camillus, Pompey, Cato, the Gracchi, Fabius, Fabricius, and others. Anchises speaks in elevated tones: his comments on the passing heroes are not a narrative, but a prophecy and an exhortation. Then, in what seems to be the epilogue of the grand review, there follows that supreme characterization of the genius of Rome for war and law and peace, as con-

trasted with the glory of Hellas in art, literature, science, and philosophy.

"Exeudent alii spirantia mollius aera —
Credo equidem — vivos ducent de marmore vultus;
Orabunt causas melius; caelique meatus
Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent:
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento:
Hae tibi erunt artes — pacisque imponere morem;
Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos" (847-53).

"Others shall beat out the breathing bronze in softer lines — I believe it well — others shall draw the living countenance from marble; others shall plead better at the bar; they shall trace more skilfully the wanderings of the heavens with their rod, and tell of the rising stars: But thou, O Roman, remember thou to rule the nations under thy sway — these be *thy* arts — to lay upon the world the ways of peace; to spare the conquered and beat down the proud."

Finer lines than these for insight, majesty, and music, have rarely been penned by Roman, or perhaps, by any hand. But this magnificent flight is only seemingly the epilogue. The gem of the book is still to come in the beautiful and pathetic dirge over the young Marcellus. This scene is detached by the poet from the grand review for emphasis and for contrast. It is to give the real Virgilian touch of pathos to the closing scene of the book of mystery. It is to move the heart of Augustus. It is to unite the heart of emperor and people in a common bond of sympathy at a great bereavement. I quote the passage only in part:

"O my son, pry not into the great sorrow of thy people. Him shall the Fates but *show* to earth, and suffer not to tarry longer . . .

"Alas! poor boy, if only thou couldst break the cruel fates — thou shalt be a Marcellus indeed! Give me lilies in full hands; let me strew bright blossoms; these gifts at least let me heap upon the shade of my descendant, and fulfill a bootless duty."

The contrast of this passage with what has gone before is striking. The grand review was calculated to raise and enlarge the hearts of all true Romans with a justifiable pride. But after the moment of elation comes, as in real life, the moment of pathos. This chastens the heart and brings with it a serious but hopeful mood, to face the hard problems of the present and the future. And after this the final calm, and the exit from the land of mysteries by the ivory gate of sleep.

The whole sixth book is characteristically Virgilian in its brooding mystery, its emotional atmosphere. It is pervaded, as Sellar has beautifully written, by an "expression of weariness and a deep longing for rest; a sense of the painful toil and mystery of life and of the sadness of death; a sense of vague yearning for some fuller and ampler being." There is in it an unmistakable note of intimacy and sympathy. It emphasizes not action and incident, as Homer does, but the inner motives of the actors. It shows, too, a careful selection of the incidents, a fine artistry in the choice of words and handling of the metre, and a vast industry and care of composition, cunningly concealed in a natural, if not altogether flawless, unity.

Florissant, Mo.

FRANCIS A. PREUSS, S. J.

(To be continued)

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Published monthly except July, August and September by
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3441 North Ashland Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Subscription price: One Dollar a Year.

Entered as second class matter December 14, 1927, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Vol. VI

January, 1930

No. 4

Editorial

The year 1930 marks the two-thousandth anniversary of the birth of Vergil. Even the casual observer must have noticed in recent years that our age seems to take special delight in commemorating the anniversaries of great historical characters and events, a phenomenon due perhaps in greater measure to the marvelous development in our day of the periodical press and of the vogue of advertising and publicity, than to any particular reverence or appreciation of the past. It seems no less clear that a good portion of the enthusiasm which is being manifested in many quarters for the "Bimillennium Vergilianum" can be traced to the enterprising missionary spirit of the veritable army of American high-school Latin teachers, who would hardly be true children of their age, if they did not take advantage of so favorable an opportunity to advertise with all their might the most important Latin author read in high school. Still, after due allowance has been made for these and similar factors in the case, it appears truly remarkable that such extraordinary interest should be shown, in our land and day, in one who lived two thousand years ago, who belonged to a period and a race so different from our own, who was not a great inventor like Archimedes, nor a great intellectual rebel like Lucretius, but a mystic, an idealist, a recluse, a poet of the field and fold, the creator of so striking an antithesis to our own age as is the character of *pius Aeneas*. There will probably be few high schools, colleges or universities in America that will not in some fitting and public way celebrate during this year the birth of

the great "Mantovano." Such commemorative exercises will offer a splendid opportunity for emphasizing the significance of Vergil's literary immortality, the perennial appeal and abiding value of his poetry. Like Thucydides' great work, the poems of Vergil are not "a prize composition, written to be recited and heard but once, but a possession for all time." In them we see portrayed a noble ideal of humanity, a benign and all-embracing Providence, "reaching from end to end strongly, and ordering all things sweetly," an unshaken faith in the fundamental goodness of the human heart, a glorification of brotherly concord between individuals and nations, an earnest plea for the salutary and ennobling arts of peace, a wistful longing for a more perfect world, a shadowy but steady hope in an eternal life after death. Let us make our Vergil classes a real inspiration to our pupils during this year; for it was not to Dante alone, but to many a great mind and small, during these two thousand years, that Vergil has shown himself a master and a guide.

If the world of unsteady standards and veering fashions needs Hellenists to-day to teach her the importance of restraint in imagination and artistic unity in variety, the Church too, founded though she is on the bedrock of divine revelation, cannot dispense with the services of men deeply learned in the language of Greece, in which Christianity was preached during the first two hundred years of its existence. In these days of Higher Criticism, the sound and scholarly interpretation of the New Testament and of the early Christian Greek writings is of paramount interest to orthodoxy. It is only natural that believing Christians should prefer to do some of this important work themselves, rather than leave it all to be done by unsympathetic outsiders. Hence in the case of a Christian teacher, not only is every blow struck for Greek a blow struck for humane learning in its entirety—as Lane Cooper once declared—but it is also a blow struck in the interests of Christian orthodoxy.

In the November issue of the BULLETIN, p. 14, a brief bibliography of the "Art of Livy" was given. To the items mentioned there, the following should be added:

The "Introduction" to B. O. Foster's edition of Livy in the Loeb Series, published in 1925.

Those specially interested in Livian idiom should consult H. D. Naylor, *Latin and English Idiom, an Object Lesson from Livy's Preface*, and, by the same author, *More Latin and English Idiom*; Cambridge University Press, 1909 and 1915.

Creighton University this year boasts a Freshman Greek class of fifteen members. The Creighton High School has a group of twenty-eight studying Greek in the fourth year, a gain of eleven over last year. *Floreat, crescant!*

Rules for Accent in Latin Verbs

The quantity of Latin vowels, so important for correct accentuation, is the bug-bear of the conscientious Latin student. There is nothing quite so treacherous in the whole of Latin, and to make matters worse, a mistake made in public is always noticed and never pardoned. It is true that in the case of nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, there is little excuse for inaccuracy, for the accent of such words is a more or less fixed characteristic and can be learned once for all when the word is first met with. In the case of verbs, however, the difficulty is very much greater, for the accent may be found on the penult in the simple form and on the antepenult in the compounds. This tends to deceive the ear which is the standard guide in matters of pronunciation, and makes it difficult for the student to decide instinctively upon the correct accent in the compounds of verbs which are usually encountered only in the simple form. Careful attention to the difference in sound between a long and a short vowel would provide an adequate solution to the problem, but such accurate discrimination is a goal seldom reached by most students. The following set of rules is offered tentatively as a means of determining by inspection the quantity of the penultimate vowel in verbs of the second, third, and fourth conjugations. The first conjugation has so far proved unmanageable. It is presupposed that the student is familiar with the fact that the presence of diphthongs and double consonants (except in the case of mutes followed by liquids) renders a syllable long.

The Second Conjugation

All verbs of the second conjugation have a short stem vowel except the following:

Suadeo, pareo; debeo, deleo; rideo, strideo; frigeo, floreo; luceo, lugeo. It will be noticed that these verbs are grouped in pairs, and that the members of each pair, except the fourth, contain one of the five vowels, *a, e, i, o, u*. The jingle occurring in three of the pairs serves as a distinct aid to the memory. If greater completeness is desired, the forms *-nideo* and *-niveo* (found in *renideo* and *conniveo*) may be inserted in their proper place.

The Third Conjugation

1. All verbs whose stems end in a liquid (*m, n, l, r*) have a short stem vowel, with the single exception of *uro*.

2. Verbs in which the final *o* is preceded by one of the letters, *q, u, i, g, h, t*, have a short stem vowel. These letters give us the fanciful word "quight" as a memory aid; and for both rules taken together, we may adopt the mnemonic phrase "quight liquid."

Contrary to the second rule, these six verbs have a long vowel; *utor, nitor, liquor; figo, -fligo, frigo*. The rather infrequent *liquor* and *frigo*, may be omitted for the sake of brevity. The verb *sugo* is also long, but its use in compounds is so rare that it can cause no confusion, and it is therefore omitted from the list of exceptions. Notice that these six verbs are grouped in threes, the first three being deponents, the others having a decided jingle.

The following five verbs by reason of their short stem vowels are also to be listed as exceptions to the second rule: *Edo, bibo, cado, strepo, divido*. *Edo* and *bibo* can easily be remembered together, and *edo* can furthermore be contrasted with the verb *edo* meaning "to give forth." *Cado* is naturally contrasted with *caedo*, since the compounds of these verbs are distinguishable only through a difference in vowel quantity. Three other verbs, *rudo, lavo (lavere)* and *scabo*, occur too seldom to merit inclusion in the list.

The following six verbs, *cogo* (from *ago*), *pono* (for *po-sino*), *demo, promo, como, sumo* (compounds of *emo*) are only apparent exceptions to these rules, since the long vowels are due to contraction. As the origin of these verbs is easily remembered, they present no special difficulty.

The Fourth Conjugation

The verbs of the fourth conjugation have all a short stem vowel with the exception of *finio, punio, metior* and *molior*. For purposes of accentuation, *metior* and *molior* need not be considered, since the stem vowel can never occupy the penultimate position. *Punio* can be remembered as derived from *poena*.

Florissant, Mo.

HUGH P. O'NEILL, S. J.

Reading Latin and Greek with Proper Pauses

The Greek and Latin literatures were intended to convey their message to the world through the ear of the hearer, rather than the eye of the silent reader. It is for this reason that a successful student of rhetoric in ancient times looked upon skilful reading as an indispensable accomplishment. Just as a master of composition in those days would take pains with his words, knowing that they would have to stand the test of the ear rather than the eye of the reader, and just as a master of speaking would spend much toil in marshalling his words with a view to their rhythmical effect on his audience, so a pupil in an ancient school of rhetoric was trained to reproduce, as far as reading aloud and reading skilfully could reproduce, the full effect of the masterpieces of Greek or Latin literature.

As a necessary feature of good and skilful reading of prose, the old rhetoricians demanded appropriate pausing. In discussing the so-called plain style of composition, they laid down the rule that short *cola* and *commata* be employed in writing in order to force the reader to make frequent, though very slight, pauses even in a period of no considerable length. As an instance of a sentence to be read in accordance with this rule, Demetrius, in his treatise *On Style* (204 and 205), quotes this line from Plato: "I went down yesterday to the Peiraeus with Glaucon." Happily for us, who might be at a loss to see the pertinence of the illustration, Demetrius goes on to say that "here the pauses and cadences come close together." Demetrius seems to suggest, as the translator of the treatise *On Style* in the Loeb Classical Library explains, that, besides the full stop at the end of the sentence, the reader will make

two slight pauses, one after "yesterday" and another after "Peiraeus." The pauses are evidently inserted in order to allow such rhythm as each division of the line (that is, each *comma*) has, to make its intended impression on the ear of reader or hearer. Moreover, if pauses are correctly made, they bring out in an audible manner each separate word-group or thought-unit, which in a sentence of some length is an important aid to good reading and ready understanding. The same principle, Demetrius says, applies to the following line from Aeschines: "We sat upon the benches in the Lyceum where the stewards of the games order the contests." Here we are expected to make a slight pause after the word "Lyceum," and another after "games."

The explanation just given by Demetrius suggests a consideration of great importance in the reading of the Greek and Latin classics. The enormous amount of time spent nowadays in silent reading begets habits of haste which hurry the youthful reader along without let or hindrance. His eye flies over the page. He reads for his own delectation and suits his own convenience. There is nothing to stop him. He reads silently, and no one depends on his reading for a knowledge of what he reads. This haste of his, natural enough in his own study, is disastrous when carried into the classroom, where he is called upon to read aloud a Greek or Latin sentence or a Greek or Latin paragraph. He has not acquired the habit of making appropriate pauses, and without appropriate pauses—Demetrius tells us—the rhythm, if not the very sense, of a Greek or Latin passage is in part, or even wholly, missed. How did ancient schoolmasters prevent undue haste in reading? How did they compel the reader to make appropriate pauses?

St. Jerome, who flourished about 400 A. D., tells us that in his day the teachers of rhetoric used "to write their Demosthenes and Cicero *per cola et commata*," with a view to aiding their pupils in proper pausing and, consequently, in correct and interpretative reading. The suggestion has, therefore, been made in recent years that the ancient classics be printed *per cola et commata*, that is, in a manner which discards the stichometric presentation of the text, now in general use, and employs colon-writing instead. While the former consists in filling up each line and page with as much reading matter as line and page will hold, the colometric method prints the text in so-called sense-lines, that is, in lines which hold only as much matter as is necessary to make sense. It is true that the very term "to make sense" is a variable quantity, and the old rhetoricians themselves were not in full agreement as to the precise force of *colon* or *comma*; but this much is certain, that even an approximation to the old ideal of colometric presentation would be a wonderful help to the student in making the necessary pauses in reading. It must be repeated that, in the view of the old rhetoricians, proper pausing, that is pausing introduced at proper and frequent intervals, even in a comparatively short sentence, is indispensable for appreciating the rhythm, if not the very sense, of a passage. The sen-

tences quoted above from Demetrius may be thus "colometrized:"

I went down yesterday
to the Peiraeus
with Glaucôn.
We sat upon the benches in the Lyceum
where the stewards of the games
order the contests.

The indention of the second and third lines is a mere matter of convenience, showing that they represent *commata* or "phases," rather than *cola*. It is known that indention was widely prevalent in the writing of poetry. The fifth and sixth lines show that, in colometric writing, the subject of a sentence need not be in the same line with the predicate. The subject of that sentence ("the stewards of the games") is quite important enough to claim a whole line for itself. Another way of colon-writing, which might be called "Horizontal Colon-Writing" as distinguished from the "Vertical," would be this:

I went down yesterday / to the Peiraeus / with Glaucôn.
We sat upon the benches in the Lyceum / where the stewards
of the games / order the contests.

Colon-writing has had its day. According to reliable testimony (from St. Jerome in the fourth, and Cassiodorus in the fifth century) it flourished, side by side, with the stichometric style of writing. Undoubtedly the greater cost of writing colometrically, with its waste of writing material, eventually forced it out of existence. It is very doubtful whether modern publishing firms would consider the possibility of printing Greek and Latin texts in the colometric way. Be this as it may, the lesson pointed by Demetrius, and re-inforced by the existence of the colometric system for several centuries, is one that cannot with impunity be neglected in the classroom: unless due attention is paid to reading aloud in general, and to reading with proper pauses in particular, the educational value of our teaching of Latin and Greek is lessened, for the effect of the *viva vox* is lost, and the music of ancient diction is wasted on us. This insistence on loud and pauseful reading in the classroom is all the more imperative because the average student loathes it heartily. His tongue is not accustomed to the Latin and Greek combinations of vowels and consonants and his ear is not naturally sensitive to the rhythm of Greek or Latin diction.

The principle of reading aloud and with proper pauses applies to both prose and poetry, and, within the domain of prose, to every writer without exception. Even the pages of plain and matter-of-fact Caesar can be brightened up by proper reading, as even a young student will admit after a hasty glance at this brief selection (B. G. 1, 53):

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| ita | proelium restitutum est |
| atque | omnes hostes terga verterunt |
| neque | prius fugere destiterunt |
| | quam ad flumen / milia passuum ex eo loco circiter |
| | quinque / pervenerunt |
| ibi | perpauci |
| | aut / viribus confisi / tranare contenderunt |
| | aut / lintribus inventis / sibi salutem reppererunt. |

Latin and Greek are dead languages. Any method of teaching, therefore, that bids fair to breathe life into the dead bones should be welcome. One such method, which was practised soon after the classical period of Latin and Greek literature, if not earlier, and has had an actual vogue of several centuries to test its merits, is recommended by Demetrius for the reading of Greek and by Quintilian for the reading of Latin: slow, deliberate, pauseful reading. To many ancient teachers of rhetoric such reading meant reading a colometrized text; to modern teachers of the classics it should mean reading a Greek or Latin text *as if it were colometrized*.

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JAMES A. KLEIST, S. J.

The Excavation of Trajan's Market

The archaeological activity of the Fascist government is nothing short of astonishing. Not to mention the progress made at Lake Nemi, Ostia, Pompeii, and Herculaneum, the manifold projects at Rome are being realized one by one. The so-called *Foro Argentino*, south of the Pantheon and midway between it and the Tiber, was formally opened last April 21st, and ivy is already growing over the rectangular temple, circular temple, and massive podium unearthed while foundations were being dug for a business block. A few blocks to the southeast, and a block from the river, workmen are striking off the parasitic dwellings that hid the huge theatre of Marcellus from view. A half mile to the east, work continues on the Forum of Augustus, where a marble pavement has been cleared, and the podium of the temple of Mars the Avenger has been restored. New stone steps have been built, and already they look centuries old. Not that the elements have aged them; last spring I watched workmen hastening their old age by chipping their edges with hammers. Our New England "worm-eaters" could learn something about antiques from them! Over on the *Via dei Cerchi* the excavation of the Circus Maximus has gained in depth, if not in extent.

The twenty-eighth of October is the Fascist New Year's Day, on which the black-shirts celebrate their march on Rome and begin to count the days of the Fascist year. On that day it is the custom to open formally throughout the nation the public works completed during the preceding year. As the 27th was a Sunday this year, the ceremonies were held on that day. In the city proper Sig. Mussolini opened four in person, and three of them were archaeological. It almost seemed as though the International Association of Archaeologists had convened in Rome.

The gala tour of the public works began at three o'clock. *Il Duce's* first stop was at the Antiquarium, between the Colosseum and the Circus Maximus, a museum whose thirteen rooms are filled with a rich collection of antiquities. A nearby playground was next inaugurated. Then followed the ceremony at Trajan's Market, of which at length later. From there the cortège

moved to the *Via Tor de' Specchi*, the street that skirts the Campus Martius side of the Capitoline. Along this street whole blocks of houses have been razed to restore the austere contours of the ancient Capitoline and to bare the towering flank of what some believe to be the Tarpeian Rock. Houses on the northeastern slope have also been laid low. By this wholesale demolition not only the ancient stands revealed, but the new becomes more effective. Now it is possible to view from a distance the Victor Emmanuel monument, which, almost as much as St. Peter's, needs to be seen from afar to be appreciated. To this end, too, other square blocks of houses are being demolished. By a strange irony, among the buildings condemned is the birthplace of the great archaeologist, Giovanni Battista De Rossi, where scores of young scientists from various countries once sat at the feet of the great Italian master.

Notwithstanding this violation of their shrine, it is evident that at Rome the much-abused archaeologists are at last coming into their own. At what other period in the history of the world has archaeology been a major policy of a world power? For Mussolini, master psychologist, the revival of the Roman empire and the restoration of her monuments stand in intimate relationship. Hardly otherwise can we interpret his description of the public works inaugurated October 27th as "*lavori attraverso i quali noi intendiamo di aumentare la potenza della Nazione.*"

To return to Trajan's Market, where the Maecenases of the archaeologists spent considerable time; as well he might. It is one of the most interesting monuments in Rome; but the fact that it is perhaps the only extant example of its kind makes it hard to describe.

It is well known that the familiar photograph of Trajan's Forum quite misrepresents the original. This limbo of Roman cats is shown as a rectangular pit bristling with granite stumps, with Trajan's column rising at the western end. In reality, the excavation, as it appears today, is like a saddle thrown across the width of the Basilica Ulpia, which, occupying the center of the forum, ran northeast and southwest. The forum itself was at least four times as large as the one pictured; a large portion, almost square, extended southeast to the Forum of Augustus. Facing this as yet unexplored section of the forum, rises the market, on the southwestern slope of the Quirinal. It is a semicircular gallery whose arms reach out to the adjacent forum.

Viewed from across the forum, the market looks very much like a section of the Colosseum, concave, however, of brick construction, and only two stories high, although four others extend in irregular terraces up the steep slope of the hill. It was necessary to excavate to a depth of twenty feet to reach the wide street which follows the curve of the market and separates it from the forum proper. Eleven extremely shallow shops, little more than oversized niches, line this street. Each niche is spaced from the other by a brick wall about equal to the width of the niches. The door-jambs and architraves were of travertine. A small window in the

brick-work that filled in the arch above the architrave, gave light and air when the door was closed. Unfortunately the architraves have disappeared, and the brick-work between architrave and arch has fallen out. Thus it is that one now gets the Colosseum effect. From the restoration of one of the door units it is evident that the effect was quite different when all were intact. The second story shows twenty-one arched windows, which give the ensemble a decidedly pleasing effect, an effect enhanced by the distinctive decoration worked in brick above them. This consists in a series of variegated tympana, with round and intersected arches, seen today in the window designs of numerous Roman *palazzi*. Probably the *rinascimento* architects copied them from the still visible market (then thought to be a part of the forum) and thus the style may have reached our time.

Near each extremity of the hemicycle, a well-preserved stairway leads to the second floor, which contains twenty-one shops. A wing extends back on this level to a wall of immense tufa blocks, probably part of the Servian wall, which, according to the well-known chart, described a deep bay at this point. A flight of steps leads up to the *Via Biberatica*, which, forming a terrace, follows the curve of the gallery west and then turns north. This finely preserved street is bordered by shops and, where it turns north, by a towering structure which houses twenty-four shops in its basement, and others around a huge vaulted chamber that many a church would be proud to own as a nave. The remarkable vault of this chamber, as the masonry shows, was added long after the shops were built, so that originally the hall it covers was a passage-way open to the sky. Senator Ricci, director of the excavations, says it was roofed over to give the merchants a meeting place. With its shops on either side, it anticipates by a millennium and a half the great American arcades and *galeries* of Italy. Other arms of the market extend up the hillside to the northeast, and the total number of shops discovered thus far is one hundred and fifty.

Crowning this acropolis of commerce, is a building whose function remains a mystery. Of its four chambers, one contains an apse, another a tribune, and the others contain two niches of various shapes. We may expect to hear any number of explanations as to the nature of this building.

Thus the excavation of the market may start a new controversy even while it settles an old one. As the one it seems to have decided regards the market's origin, it may be well to recall it. Trajan's forum was distinctive not merely because it was the most magnificent of the imperial fora. It was that; but, besides, of what other forum could it be said that an emperor had moved a mountain to build it? Until 1906 that was what people believed about the Forum of Trajan. That was their interpretation of the last two lines of the inscription which the SPQR had placed on the base of the column: AD DECLARANDUM QUANTAE ALTITUDINIS MONS ET LOCUS TANTIS OP. SIT EGESTUS—even though scholars argued about what the abbreviation OP. might mean. Their belief corresponded with

the fragment of Dio Cassius, which most of us know only in Sturz's translation: "Nam eum locum, eum montosus esset, tanta altitudine, quanta columnae est, iussit effodi; forumque eo pacto complanavit."

In 1906, however, Giacomo Boni, excavating at the foot of the column, found a street five feet below the level of the forum, and, lower still, a sewer. The inescapable inference was that the site of the column had been level long before Trajan's time. Indeed, it seemed likely, that instead of excavating, he had filled it in! The attempts made to reconcile the seemingly contradictory evidence can be imagined, if not understood. The most probable explanation has now been found behind the market. The Quirinal at this point rises from the level of the forum to a height of seventy-five feet, and undoubtedly has been scarped. If we follow Senator Ricci's suggestion, and add to this height the depth of foundation required for the monuments of the forum, and then the number of feet removed from the top of the hill in constructing the approach to the market, we shall have the approximate height of the column, about one hundred feet. Thus, it seems, the substantial truth of the inscription is saved. If not where the column rises, then at least in several sections, the Quirinal was cut away to the height of the column.

But why was the market built against the hill? In this case it is so easy to assign reasons that one must beware of taking fancy for fact. We may suppose, for example, that, having cut away the hill, Apollodorus of Damascus, Trajan's engineer, had to think of building a retaining wall that should be at once substantial and sightly. Meanwhile, Trajan faced a problem of his own. From the days when the first forum was merely a marketplace at the crossing of the roads leading from the hill town by the Tiber, the idea of a market had never been entirely dissociated from that of a forum. The Roman Forum had its *tabernae veteres* and its *tabernae novae*, though these grew fewer as the sacred character of the Forum increased. Many of the merchants set up shops in the newer imperial fora, or crowded into the already congested *Subura*. No doubt Trajan saw how they disfigured the fora of his predecessors. It is quite probable that he determined that the unsightly shacks should have no place in the monumental forum he was building. And what is more likely than that he took the offensive and asked Apollodorus to build them a market of their own, adjoining his forum, in deference to the ancient tradition that a forum is first of all a marketplace? What is certain is that Apollodorus built a market which was at the same time an excellent buttress for the overhanging hill.

Much will be written about the Market of Trajan. Though built in humble brick, it has a personal appeal that is lacking in temples and theatres and arches and columns, for all their marble magnificence. The market cannot fail to interest both sightseer and scientist, because like Pompeii and Ostia, it gives us a glimpse of the workaday life of the people.

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